

European American Institute for Security Research

October 12, 1981

Albert Wohlstetter
President

Uwe Nerlich
Vice President

Professor Henry S. Rowen
Chairman
National Intelligence Council, Room 7E48
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D.C. 20505

Dear Harry:

The Institute sponsored a very successful workshop on "NATO's Southern Flank, The Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf" in Naples on 21-23 September. I hope you can attend a Washington synopsis and discussion of this workshop. I will chair the session.

We shall meet at

Carnegie Endowment Conference Center
8th Floor
11 Dupont Circle
At ^{10:30}~~10:00~~ A.M.
Monday, 26 October 1981

Coffee will be served at ^{10:00}~~9:30~~ A.M. and lunch at 12:45 P.M. We plan to adjourn at 4:00 P.M.

A tentative program is enclosed as well as the agenda, statement of purpose and participant list for the Naples meeting. We hope to have a meaningful--though necessarily brief--discussion of the main points in the course of this synopsis. In addition to discussing the Naples workshop we shall treat very briefly a second workshop on the interaction of Soviet behavior with Western strategy.

Other participants at the Naples workshop who plan to be present include Paul Henze, James Digby, Robert Bartley, Marino de Medici, Roberta Wohlstetter, and Fred Hoffman.

Let me know if you can come by responding to Cynthia Price at (213) 822-1715. I do hope to see you.

Sincerely,



Albert Wohlstetter
President

Organizing Committee

James Digby
Fred S. Hoffman
Kenneth Hunt
Laurence Martin
Thierry de Montbrial

Advisory Board

Richard Burt
Johan Holst
Fred C. Iklé
Henry S. Rowen
Lothar Ruehl

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October 9, 1981

Tentative Agenda

SYNOPSIS OF WORKSHOP ON NATO's SOUTHERN REGION
THE MEDITERRANEAN, AND THE PERSIAN GULFCarnegie Endowment Conference Center
Washington
26 October 1981

Coffee will be served at 9:30 AM

10:00	Albert Wohlstetter	Purpose of Today's Review Discussion
10:10	Albert Wohlstetter	Ambiguous Threats to NATO and the Multiple Use of NATO's Southeastern Flank
10:50	Richard Brody	Regional Concerns and Commitments: Germany, Italy, Greece and Turkey
11:15	Discussion	
12:00	Sherry	
12:20	Robert Bartley	Overall Impressions on Main Points of Both Workshops
(to include brief comments on Strategy Workshop)		
12:45	Albert Wohlstetter	Comments
1:00	Lunch	
2:00	James Digby	Command, Control and Strategy for the Southern Region
2:15	Paul Henze	Review of Sessions on Libya and Terrorism
3:00	Robert Bartley Albert Wohlstetter Marino de Medici	Concluding Panel; Discussion
4:00	Adjourn	

This review session was made possible by a grant from the U. S. Information Agency, which also assisted with support for the Naples Workshop.

Albert Wohlstetter
President

Uwe Nerlich
Vice President

CENTRAL THEME OF THE NAPLES WORKSHOP

NATO planners have focused on deterring a major Soviet attack on all of NATO Europe, with its principal thrust at the European center. In more plausible contingencies, however, the Soviets would risk less by directing a sudden attack, massively reinforced, at a NATO flank, or at places outside the NATO formal treaty area that are weakly defended, but critical for the viability of the Alliance. In some contingencies, the Soviets might hope to confine the conflict there. In recent years their ability has increased greatly to exploit their interior lines of communication using advanced, very mobile forces, and to threaten simultaneously any of several points near their periphery vital for NATO. Nowhere is this clearer than in the strategically connected Mediterranean/Red Sea/Persian Gulf region. Yet, the major NATO powers continue to treat NATO's Southern Flank as a subordinate or even minor concern rather than dealing inventively and realistically with the problem of strengthening the Southern Flank without dangerously weakening the Center.

Countries in the southern region of NATO have a more fragile political consensus, and the Soviets in the period of detente beginning in the sixties have combined formally correct government-to-government relations with persistent efforts to take advantage of spontaneously-generated internal instabilities as well as to foster them and to detach these countries from the NATO Alliance. The military problems of defending the southern region are made more difficult by these problems of terrorism and internal disorder.

The issues raised by the problems of defending the Southern Flank illustrate some of the key problems that have to be faced in the necessary reorientation of Grand Strategy for the Alliance. They transcend in importance most of the questions that have been preoccupying NATO political military planners. Moreover, some of the main kinds of Alliance measures, which are feasible and necessary to reverse the deteriorating position of the Alliance, find their best example here. In particular, allied land-based AWACS and land-based fighters and surface naval forces, as well as ground forces, can play complementary and multiple roles to meet the many lethal threats to the Alliance which now confront it.

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Such forces, based in Southeastern NATO and in the Eastern Mediterranean, can be used not only (a) in the direct defense of these countries, but also (b) in the defense of air and sea lines of communication essential to their ultimate reinforcement, including the land-based AWACS and land-based air defense of naval forces for sea control, (c) in intercepting a Soviet airborne invasion or in interdicting a Soviet land invasion directed at seizure of oil on the Upper Persian Gulf, and (d) in offering a favorable path for counterattack against second echelon Soviet forces in some European Central Front contingencies.

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Only by taking advantage of such complementarities and multiple uses of resources is NATO likely to be able to meet widespread critical challenges in the next decade. The connected Mediterranean/Red Sea/Persian Gulf region illustrates both the essential problems, and key ways of dealing with them. They call for a reordering of priorities and a willingness to resolve political issues within NATO South, and between it and the rest of NATO, in order to work out new politically viable forms of military cooperation against a growing threat.

21 Sept 81

Agenda

Workshop on
"NATO'S SOUTHERN FLANK, THE MEDITERRANEAN AND
THE PERSIAN GULF"
NATO Headquarters
Naples, Italy
21-23 September 1981

9:00 a.m. MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 21

Session Chairman: Kenneth Hunt

1. Admiral William J. Crowe

Welcome

2. Albert Wohlstetter

On the Nature of the Workshop

3. The Honorable Rolf F. Pauls

"The Underestimated Threat: A Few Theses for Discussion"

4. P. J. Vatikiotis

"Remarks on the Politics of the Region: The Changing
Balance in the Persian Gulf and the Middle East"

12:30 p.m. - LUNCH - ALLIED OFFICERS CLUB

2:00 p.m. - Second Session Chairman: Fred S. Hoffman

1. Albert Wohlstetter

"Ambiguous Threats to NATO and the Multiple Use of
NATO's Southern Flank"

2. Maurizio Cremasco

"Military Options for the Security of the Southern Flank"

Background Papers for Day One: Seyfi Taşhan, "Persian Gulf Security:
A Turkish View"
Maurizio Cremasco, "Alliance Options for
Persian Gulf Security"
Albert Wohlstetter, "Meeting the Threat
in the Persian Gulf"

5:00 p.m. - ADJOURNMENT

Agenda

9:00 a.m. TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 22

Morning Session Chairman: James Digby

1. Brigadier General Thomas Kelly

"NATO: The View from Naples"

2. Erik Klippenberg:

"NATO's Southern Region, the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf: Problems of Command and Control"

12:00 p.m. - LUNCH - ALLIED OFFICERS CLUB

1:30 p.m. - Second Session Chairman: Jean-Marie Guehenno

1. Ali Karaosmanoglu

"Turkey's Role in NATO"

2. Paul Olsen

"Some Considerations in Designing a Strategy for NATO's Southeastern Flank"

3. Panel Discussion.

"NATO's Policy in the Southern Flank"

Panelists: Wolfgang Altenburg
Tønne Huitfeldt
Kenneth Hunt
Albert Wohlstetter

Background Papers for Day Two: William R. Graham, "Reducing the Vulnerability of Retaliatory Forces and Command, Control and Communications: A Question of Balance:"

5:00 p.m. - ADJOURNMENT

Agenda

9:00 a.m. WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 23

Session Chairman: Albert Wohlstetter

1. Roberto Aliboni

"On Dealing with Libya"

2. Paul Henze

"Goal: Destabilization -- Soviet Agitational Propaganda,
Instability and Terrorism in NATO South"

12:00 p.m. - WORKSHOP ADJOURNS

Final Participant List

Workshop on
"NATO's Southern Flank, the Mediterranean and
the Persian Gulf"
NATO Headquarters
Naples, Italy
21-23 September 1981

MRS. MARCY AGMON
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Los Angeles, California

DR. ROBERTO ALIBONI
Director
Istituto Affari Internazionali
Rome, Italy

LT. GEN. WOLFGANG ALTENBURG
Commanding General, Third Corps
Federal Republic of Germany

CONSIGLIERE ANTONIO ARMELLINI
Chief of Policy
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Rome, Italy

MR. ROBERT BARTLEY
Editor
The Wall Street Journal

MR. TANER BAYTOK
Director General of Policy Planning
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Ankara, Turkey

MR. RICHARD BRODY
PAN Heuristics
Los Angeles, California

MR. MICHEL CHRISTIDES
Greek Consul
Naples, Italy

DR. MAURIZIO CREMASCO
Istituto Affari Internazionali
Rome, Italy

ADMIRAL WILLIAM J. CROWE, JR.
Commander in Chief
Allied Forces Southern Europe
(CINCAFSOUTH)

MR. JAMES DIGBY
The Rand Corporation
Santa Monica, California

MAJ. GEN. AHMED FAKHR
Director
College of National Defence
Cairo, Egypt

MR. JOSEPH FITCHETT
International Herald Tribune
London, England

MR. LOUIS FLEMING
Rome Bureau
Los Angeles Times

MR. HERBERT D. GELBER
Director
Office of Analysis for Western Europe
U. S. Department of State
Washington, D. C.

M. JEAN-MARIE GUEHENNO
Deputy Chief
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Ministère des Relations Extérieures
Paris, France

MR. ROBERT HARVEY
The Economist
London, England

Consultant
Washington, D.C.

AMBASSADOR DR. ROLF F. PAULS
Former Ambassador to NATO
Federal Republic of Germany

DR. FRED S. HOFFMAN
The Rand Corporation
Santa Monica, California

MAJ. GEN. RODERICK D. RENICK, JR., USA
Chief, JUSMAT
Turkey

LT. GEN. TONNE HUITFELDT*
Commander, Allied Forces North
Norway

AMBASSADOR GEORGE SEKERIS
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Athens, Greece

BRIGADIER KENNETH HUNT
Visiting Professor
University of Surrey
England

MS. CLAIRE STERLING
Author, Journalist

AMBASSADOR ROBERT STRAUZS-HUPE
U. S. Ambassador to Turkey

DR. FAROOQ HUSSAIN
SHAPE Technical Centre
The Netherlands

PROFESSOR KONSTANTINOS SVOLOPOULOS
Diplomatic History
University of Thessaloniki
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LT. GEN. JOHN KARANDREAS
Chief, NATO Affairs
Athens, Greece

DR. SEYFI TAŞHAN
President
Foreign Policy Institute
Ankara, Turkey

PROFESSOR ALI KARAOSMANOĞLU
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KORGENERAL NECIP TORUMTAY
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DR. ERIK KLIPPENBERG
Director
SHAPE Technical Centre
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PROFESSOR P. J. VATIKIOTIS
School of Oriental and African Studies
University of London

GENERAL WILLIAM A. KNOWLTON
U. S. Army (retired)

PROFESSOR ALBERT WOHLSTETTER
Director, PAN Heuristics, Los Angeles,
and Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution,
Stanford University, California

MR. MARINO DE MEDICI
Il Tempo

MRS. ROBERTA WOHLSTETTER
PAN Heuristics
Los Angeles, California

MR. PHILLIP MERRILL
Counselor to the Undersecretary of
Defense for Policy
Washington, D. C.

MAJOR GENERAL AHARON YARIV
Director
Center for Strategic Studies
Tel Aviv University

MR. PAUL OLSEN
SHAPE Technical Centre
The Netherlands

*After 1 October 1981: Director of International Military Staff (IMS)
SHAPE Headquarters